

PATTERNS OF NATION-STATES AND CULTURE IN THE ATLANTIC WORLD

Part II



LE GATEAU DES ROIS,
Tiré au Congrès de Vienne en 1815.

Paris, chez les Citoyens de la République.

NAPOLÉON'S DEFEAT

- Napoléon's defeat in Russia in 1812 and the Congress of Vienna in 1814-1815
 - Principal occasions for rulers to turn back the clock in Europe
- Monarchies and aristocracies reappeared throughout the continent
 - Restored kings allowed only barest minimum of popular representation in parliaments
- Contrast in Anglo-America
 - Supremacy of constitutionalism was unchallenged during the 19th century
 - Manifested pattern of increasing citizen participation in constitutional process → did have challenges – culminated in the American Civil War

THE 19TH CENTURY: THE AGE OF REVOLUTION AND THE EMERGENCE OF NATIONALISM

- After the fall of Napoléon, European leaders hoped to restore peace by reestablishing the monarchy in France and conservative governments throughout Europe → Congress of Vienna
 - Events of the previous decades were irreversible
- Despite the Congress of Vienna's efforts to reinstate the regimes of the past, widespread Liberalism would make that impossible
 - Liberalism → a political philosophy that tried to create an enlightened society marked by freedom and equality
 - Widely embraced by the professional and business classes who had risen to prominence during the previous age of revolution
- Also during this period that economic and technological innovations would impact the newly-formed social order
- Liberalism of government, as well as the emergence of industrialization, in significant part defined the 19th century

THE 19TH CENTURY: THE AGE OF REVOLUTION AND THE EMERGENCE OF NATIONALISM

- 19th century → economies of Europe and the United States rapidly moved from agricultural commerce towards mechanized manufacturing and industry
 - Rapid industrialization had tremendous social and economic effects on the world
 - Transformed centuries-old ways in which nations operated and people lived in a matter of a few years
- The changes society was experiencing as a result of this rapid industrialization led to the emergence of new ideologies and philosophies
 - Economic ideas such as Marxism
 - Political beliefs such as nationalism and imperialism

THE POST-NAPOLÉONIC ERA: THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA

- Met between November, 1814 and June, 1815 to restore the balance of power in Europe
- Representatives of the four nations that made up the victorious alliance wanted to make sure that their countries remained strong and prepared against future aggression; also included France
 - Great Britain
 - Prussia
 - Austria
 - Russia
- Mastermind of the Congress → Austrian diplomat Clement (or Klemens) von Metternich
 - Began directing Austria's foreign affairs in 1809
 - Remained in control for nearly forty years
 - Worked to extend Austria's domains
 - Worked to block Prussia and Russia from gaining too much power during the new division of Europe

THE POST-NAPOLÉONIC ERA: THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA



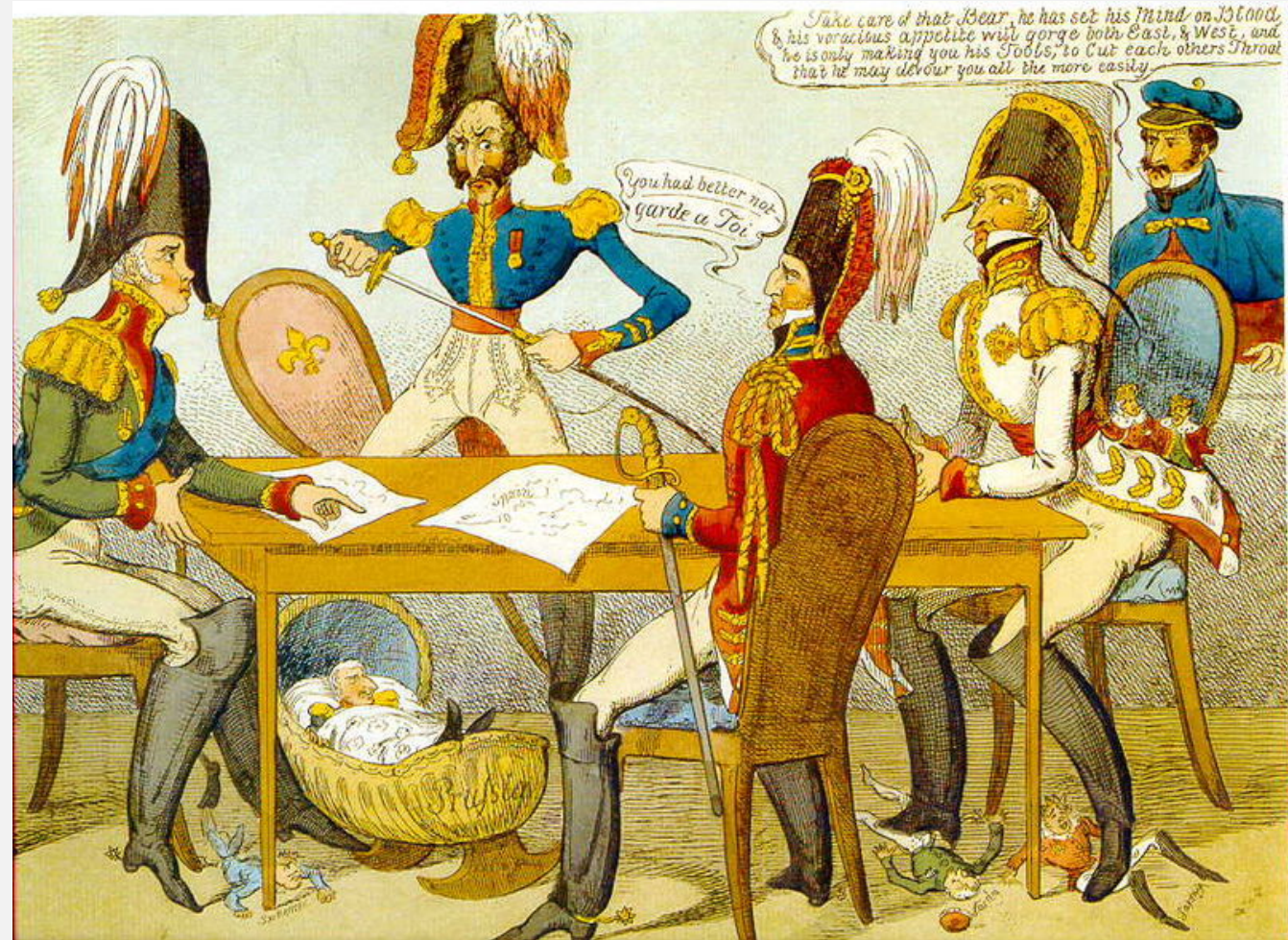
- Driving principle of the Congress was monarchical conservatism
 - Articulated primarily by von Metternich
 - Republicanism and revolution threatened to upset the status quo in Europe
- Metternich was an opponent of constitutional nationalism; determined to resist the aspirations of the struggling middle classes outside France
- Primary objective of the Congress was to provide a long-term peace plan for Europe by settling critical issues arising from the French Revolutionary Wars and the Napoléonic Wars
 - Goal → not simply to restore old boundaries but to resize the main powers so they could balance each other and remain at peace

THE POST-NAPOLÉONIC ERA: THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA

- Congress hammered out two principles
 - Legitimacy
 - Balance of Power
- Principle of legitimacy was conceived as a way to both recognize exclusive monarchical rule in Europe and to reestablish the borders of France as they were in 1789
- Principle of balance of power involved a basic policy of preventing any one state from rising to dominance over any other

THE POST-NAPOLÉONIC ERA: THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA

- Members agreed to convene at regular intervals in the future in what they called the “Concert” (The Concert of Europe)
 - Aim was to ensure peace and tranquility in Europe
 - With only minor exceptions, this policy of the balance of power remained intact down to 1914
- Congress has often been criticized for causing subsequent suppression of the emerging national and liberal movements → has been seen as a reactionary movement for the benefit of traditional monarchs
- However, others praise it for having created relatively long-term stability and peaceful conditions in most of Europe



THE POST-NAPOLEÓNIC ERA: THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA

- Solution devised for the German territories was less satisfactory
 - Now no longer had an overall ruler since the Holy Roman Empire was dissolved in 1806
- Congress of Vienna created an unwieldy and weak confederation of 39 German states
 - Included the empire of Austria, kingdoms of Prussia, Denmark, and the Netherlands
- Prussia and Austria promptly embarked on a collision course over dominance in the confederation
 - Prussia kept the initiative → created a customs union in 1834
- Prussia's main purpose in the customs union was to find outlets for its rising industrial and commercial interests in the northern German Ruhr region

THE POST-NAPOLÉONIC ERA: THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA

- Constitutionalist and republican Germans disliked the confederation as well
 - No meaningful voice in it
- By resolving the overall issue of coexistence among the German states, but not of their fragmentation, the Congress was only partially successful

METTERNICH'S EUROPE: 1815-1830

- Holy Alliance
 - Proposed by Russian Czar Alexander I
 - Purpose was to uphold Christian principles of charity and peace
 - Russia, Prussia, and Austria joined by Pope Pius VII and Great Britain refused
 - Holy Alliance did not outline an effective program to ensure peace and was not taken seriously by its members
- Metternich was suspicious of Alexander's intentions → sought to balance Russian power by strengthening Austria's relations with the other European powers
 - Disregarded the Holy Alliance
- Tried to create a more stable alliance
 - Helped restore the Bourbon family to the French throne
 - Created a conservative coalition of European powers between Austria, Prussia, Russia, and the United Kingdom that later included France → Concert of Europe

FURTHER REVOLUTIONS IN FRANCE

- In keeping with the principle of legitimacy, the Congress restored the French Bourbon monarchy with the coronation of King Louis XVIII, a brother of Louis XVI
- Louis, though determined to restore full absolutist powers
 - Indecisive as to which republican institutions to abolish first
- Playing for time, he tolerated the “Second White Terror” (1815)
 - Returning aristocracy and other royalists pursued revenge for their sufferings during the Revolution
 - Focused mainly on the purging of a civilian administration which had almost completely turned against the Bourbon monarchy → about 70,000 officials were dismissed from their positions
 - Remnants of the Napoleonic army was disbanded → senior officers cashiered
 - Approximately 6,000 individuals who had rallied to Napoléon were brought to trial
 - There were about 300 mob lynchings in the south of France
 - Surviving regicides who had voted for the execution of Louis XVI in 1792 were exiled

REACTION TO CONCERT OF EUROPE

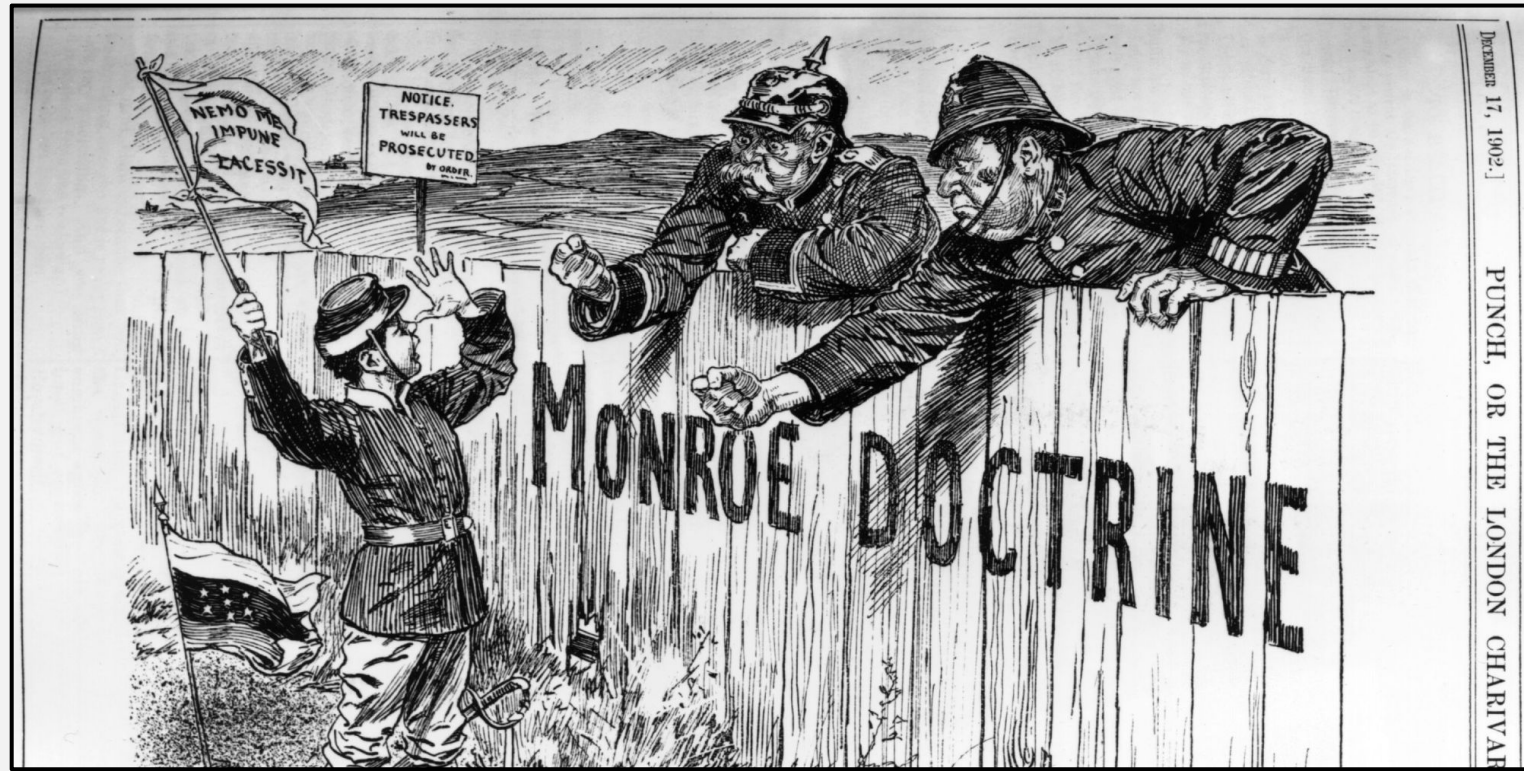
- Concert of Europe → aimed at dismantling the reforms of Napoléon and crush any liberal revolution
 - Arrangement left Austria – and Metternich – as the main power in European affairs
- Metternich's conservative Concert soon provoked sharp reaction
 - Secret societies were founded in Spain, Italy, and Germany to overturn the monarchies
 - Patriots in Greece and Poland fought to restore their independence
 - Latin American states were fighting to maintain their independence from Spain
- Metternich worked with his conservative coalition to put down all threats

SUCCESSFUL REVOLUTIONS

- 1820 → members of the Italian secret political society, the *Carbonari*, led a successful revolution against the King of Naples, the Bourbon monarch Ferdinand I
 - That same year, the Spanish government fell to revolutionaries → forced King Ferdinand VII to adopt a liberal constitution
- Metternich considered these revolutions the beginnings of a larger movement
 - Convinced the Concert to take strong and immediate action against the revolutionaries
- An army entered Naples and suppressed the Italian revolutionaries
 - Restored Ferdinand I to the throne
- 1822 → Metternich convinced the Concert of Europe to intervene in Spain and restore the government of Ferdinand VII

THE CONCERT AND THE UNITED STATES

- The Concert was going to intervene in the revolutions in Latin America but the United States and President James Monroe interceded → issued the Monroe Doctrine in 1823
- Monroe Doctrine announced that the Western Hemisphere was closed to further European colonization
 - Any attempt by European states would be considered an act of war against the United States
- Because Britain had already established economic interests in the Western Hemisphere and agreed to this policy in order to preserve them



THE BREAKDOWN OF THE CONCERT OF EUROPE: 1830- 1848



- Coalition began to break down after the death of Czar Alexander I in 1825
- Alexander was succeeded by Nicholas I, who desired to expand Russian influence
 - Did not share Alexander's policy of supporting traditional regimes
- Fatal blow came from France after the Bourbon king, Louis XVIII, died in 1824

FURTHER REVOLUTIONS IN FRANCE

- When Louis XVIII died in 1824 the conservatives succeeded in putting Charles X, a second brother of Louis XVI, on the throne
- Charles introduced a number of counterrevolutionary policies
 - Took the extreme course of restoring the property of the aristocracy lost during the revolution and reestablishing the crown's ties to the Catholic Church
 - Republican reaction to Charles' restoration policy was swift
- Revolution broke out in July, 1830
 - Two elections → republicans won a majority and overthrew the king, who fled to England
 - Stopped short of abolishing the monarchy and elevated Louis-Philippe → son of Philippe Égalité, the former Duc d'Orleans and cousin of Louis XVI who cast the deciding vote on the late king's death sentence

FURTHER REVOLUTIONS IN FRANCE

- Louis-Philippe → ruled for the next eighteen years
 - Faced rising income gaps in the middle class, difficult living conditions among the industrial working class → new tensions



THE REVOLUTIONS OF 1848

- By 1848, Metternich's Europe was slowly weakening
 - After thirty years of growing unrest, revolution erupted throughout the continent
- The revolutions in Europe began in France
 - February, 1848 → an accidental shot fired into a protesting mob led to violence and turned the protest into a full-scale insurrection
 - Barricades were set up in the streets
- King Louis-Philippe, fearing for his life, fled to Great Britain
- A group of bourgeois liberals set up a provisional government
 - The new government harnessed the support of poor urban workers by employing them in communal work groups
- The bourgeois government underestimated the rural French who used the elections to swing support behind candidates who would establish a conservative republic

THE REVOLUTIONS OF 1848

- The new government dissolved the workgroups → urban workers once again took to the streets in protest
 - June, 1848 → hundreds of people were killed and hundreds more sent overseas to French colonial prisons
- Civil unrest continued throughout the year and elections were held again in December
- Parliament elected Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte as President of France by an overwhelming majority
 - Nephew of Emperor Napoléon
 - Ruled as President 1848-1852
- Took only three years for Bonaparte to seize total control of France in a *coup d'état*
 - Declared himself Napoleon III
 - Reigned as emperor between 1852 and 1870
- The 1848 revolution only helped widen the growing cultural divide between rural and urban France

UPRISINGS ACROSS EUROPE

- Uprisings occurred in the spring of 1848 in Berlin, Vienna, Prague, Budapest, Palermo, Milan, and three Irish counties
- Prussia → king seemingly bowed to pressure from revolutionaries and promised constitutional reforms



THE REVOLUTIONS OF 1848

- News of the Parisian insurrections reached the German-speaking world in March, 1848
 - Liberal students immediately took to the streets, demanding an end of Metternich's undemocratic system
 - The uprising gained momentum and Metternich was forced to flee and the Emperor resigned
- The successors of the Emperor and Metternich, with the help of the Russians, slowly regained control over the Italians, Czechs, Hungarians, and Austrians
- Unlike France, the spirit of revolution in central Europe was linked to a latent desire for national unity
 - Protests spread quickly to the capitals of Hungary and Bohemia, where Nationalists met to discuss the establishment of new independent states

THE REVOLUTIONS OF 1848

- In May, 1848, over 800 delegates from all over the German-speaking world met in Frankfurt in order to draft a constitution that would create a new German state → Frankfurt Parliament
 - Elaborated the basic law for a new, unified state for German speakers
 - Elected a provisional government
- The new, hardline Austrian emperor, Franz Joseph I, refused to let go of his non-German subjects
 - Constitution joined only the German Federation and Prussia into a unitary state → provision for a future addition of German-speaking Austria
- Debates between Protestant Prussia and the Catholic South prolonged the meeting for 11 months
 - Delay provided an opportunity for the reigning Austrian government and Czar Nicholas I to mobilize against the delegates → effort to unify Germany failed

THE REVOLUTIONS OF 1848

- Against strong resistance by republicans, the delegates offered the Prussian king a hereditary imperial crown in the name of the German people
 - Refused the crown “of clay”
- Refusal turned the tide against the Frankfurt Parliament
 - Moderate delegates departed
 - Radical delegates instigated revolts
- Prussian troops stepped in and relieved a group of grateful regional monarchs of their insurrectionists
- July, 1849 → provisional Frankfurt government had come to an end
 - Germany’s constitutional experiment was over

ETHNOLINGUISTIC NATIONALISM IN ITALY

- Italy was as fragmented politically as Germany
- Unlike Germany, was largely under foreign domination
 - Austria controlled the north directly and the center indirectly through relatives from the house of Habsburg
 - Monarchy of Piedmont in the northwest, the Papal States in the center, and the kingdom of Naples and Sicily were independent → administratively and financially weak
- After Metternich restoration, the Italian dynasties had made concessions to constitutionalists
- Austria repressed uprisings in 1820-1821 and 1831-1832 without granting liberties
 - Republican Carbonari inspired both uprisings → they were members of the crafts guild of charcoal burners who had formed Enlightenment fraternities similar to the Freemasons during the 18th century
 - After their decisive defeat in 1831, the remnants formed the Young Italy movement

ETHNOLINGUISTIC NATIONALISM IN ITALY

- Realistic second-generation politicians of the Restoration recognized that the middle-class ethnolinguistic nationalism coming to the fore in 1848 was a potent force that could be harnessed
 - Remobilized this force in the 1860s → able to end state fragmentation and make Italy and Germany serious players in the European Concert
- These politicians were more sympathetic to French-style constitutionalism but still opposed to republicanism
 - Their pursuit of realpolitik – exploitation of political opportunities – resulted in the 1870-1871 in the transformations of the Italian kingdoms of Piedmont and the German Empire of Prussia into the nation-states of Italy and Germany



Pope Pius IX

ETHNOLINGUISTIC NATIONALISM IN ITALY

- In Italy in 1848, Pope Pius IX faced growing pressure to declare war on Austria on behalf of Italy
 - Because of the Pope's popular liberal policies, many had hoped that he would lead the initiative to fight Austria
- The Pope refused to involve the papacy in a war against another Catholic nation
 - Condemned the idea of a federal Italy led by the Pope and urged the Italian people to stay faithful to their respective princes
- In the eyes of the people, Pius IX's opposition to the revolution made him an enemy
 - Pope's prime minister was murdered as he attempted to open Parliament
 - Mobs overran the assembly
 - The Pope was forced to flee the city

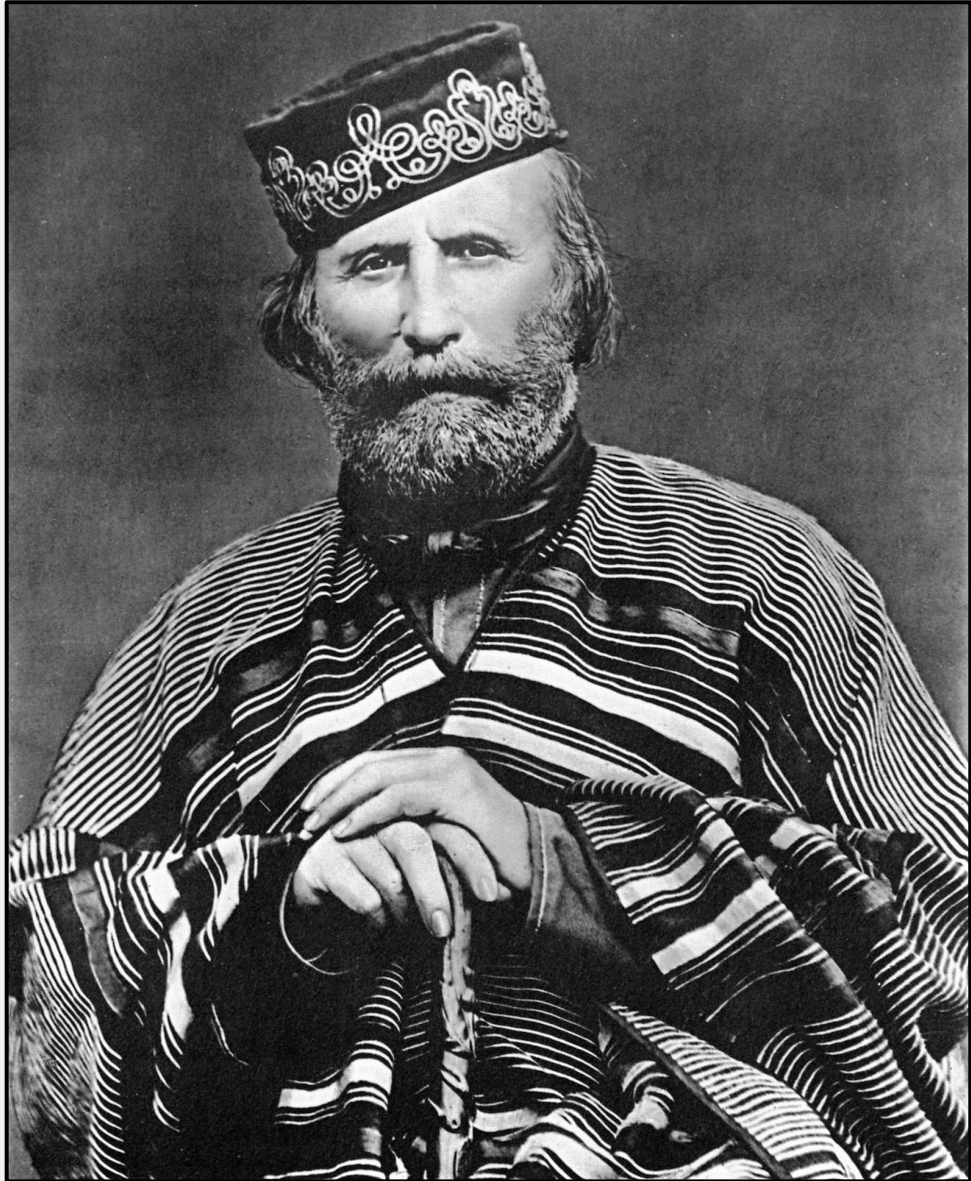
ETHNOLINGUISTIC NATIONALISM IN ITALY

- Insurrections sprang up throughout the peninsula as the nationalist movement gained momentum
 - Insurrections were being led by Giuseppe Manzzini and Giuseppe Garibaldi
- With the Pope out of Rome, Manzzini and Garibaldi proclaimed a new Roman Republic
 - For nearly a year, revolutionaries had control over Rome
- Pius IX called on the Catholic powers of Europe to restore his temporal rule over the Papal States
 - French troops sent by Emperor Napoléon III retook the city and the Papal States
- On April 12, 1850, the Pope returned to Rome
 - No longer the beloved Pope of the people
 - Having protested the excesses of the revolution in Italy, he was no longer seen as a friend to the liberal cause

ETHNOLINGUISTIC NATIONALISM IN ITALY

- Leadership of the newly unified Italy was passed to the Piedmont King Vittorio Emanuele II and his premier, Camillo Benso, Count di Cavour
- Cavour → scion of an old aristocratic family with training as a military officer
 - Became a constitutional nationalist while in the army
 - Supporter of Adam Smith's liberal trade economics
 - As Prime Minister he was the driving force behind the development of railroads
 - 1854 → had all the monasteries and convents in Piedmont closed
- Along with liberal-minded Vittorio Emanuele II, he was able to arrange for a favorable plebiscite in north-central Tuscany and Emilia in 1859
 - Gained the two regions from Austria
- 1860 → occupied the Papal States and accepted the offer of Giuseppe Garibaldi to add Naples and Sicily to a now nearly unified Italy



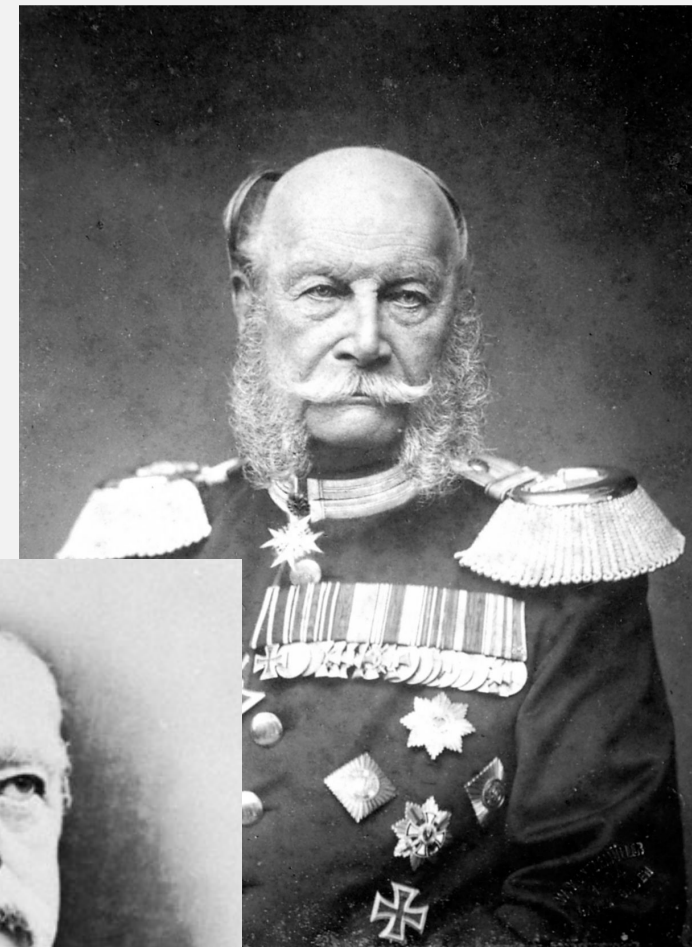


ETHNOLINGUISTIC NATIONALISM IN ITALY

- Garibaldi
 - Mariner from Nice
 - Carbonaro and Young Italy republican nationalist
 - Fought in Italy, Brazil, and Uruguay
 - Dressed in his trademark red gaucho shirt with poncho and sombrero
 - Attracted large numbers of volunteers wherever he went to fight
- Cavour died in 1861 → did not live to see Piedmont transformed into Italy in 1870, when it gained Venice from Austria and Rome from France

BISMARCK AND GERMANY

- In contrast to Italy, neither King Wilhelm I nor his chancellor Otto von Bismarck in Prussia had deep sympathies for constitutionalism
- Formed a coalition of convenience
 - Succeeded in keeping the constitutionalists in the Prussian parliament in check
- Realized that they could dip into the ethnelinguistic nationalism that had poured forth in 1848, using it for power politics



BISMARCK AND GERMANY

- Bismarck
 - Prussian aristocrat
 - Legal education rather than a military career
 - Multilingual
 - Widely read
 - Experienced in the diplomacy of the European Concert
- Realized that Prussia, a weak player in the Concert, had a chance for greater influence only if the kingdom could absorb the German Federation
 - Bismarck argued that Prussia had to progress from talk about unification to military action, using “blood and iron”

BISMARCK AND GERMANY

- From 1871, Bismarck systematically maneuvered Prussia into an internationally favorable position for the coup that would eventually bring unification → war with France
 - First → exploited a succession crisis in Denmark in order to annex Denmark's southern province of Schleswig-Holstein in 1865
 - Second → declared war on Austria in 1865 when they objected to the terms of annexation
 - Third → after Prussia's victory, Bismarck dissolved the German Confederation and annexed several German principalities
- Emperor Napoléon III (Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte)
 - Had carried out a *coup d'état* in 1852, which ended the Second Republic, and declared himself Emperor
 - Greatly concerned about the rising power of Prussia → a distraction on his eastern flank was not what he needed

BISMARCK AND GERMANY



- In spite of his reservations, Napoléon III greatly undermined his own position
 - Prevented a relative of King Wilhelm from succeeding to the vacant throne of Spain
- When Napoléon III demanded additional assurances that Prussia would not put forward candidates for any other thrones in the future, Bismarck outmaneuvered him
 - Advised King Wilhelm to refuse the demand → edited the refusal in such a way as to make it insulting to the French
- France declared war on Prussia but was defeated in 1870
- Bismarck now had the upper hand
 - Used it to annex Alsace-Lorraine from the French
 - Carried out the final unification of Germany
 - Elevated the new state to the status of empire in 1871